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ABSTRACT

Since 1952, the South has experienced a remarkable growth in private schools. These new schools, because of their relationship to the desegregation of public schools, have often been dubbed "Segregation Academies". This phenomenon is quite extensive, and the evidence seems to indicate that it may well be continuing. There are 6 basic types of private (non-parochial) schools: schools for special groups; schools for the handicapped; college preparatory schools; Christian schools (non-denominational); community schools; and Segregation Academies. The Segregation Academies, predominant in the South, arose out of the desegregation movement in the early 1950's. They first played a dual role -- acting as a safety valve to prevent possible racial violence while prolonging, if not heightening, racial tensions. Since that time, these schools have flourished and appeared to have become a permanent part of southern life. Discussing this issue, the paper concludes: (1) private education in the South is a factor that must be reckoned with; (2) since these schools are not bound by tradition or bureaucracy, they may develop innovative educational models that can be used in public schools; (3) where private schools are strong in a local community, the public school may need to place a stronger emphasis on vocational curricula; (4) some type of open communication needs to be established between the public and private systems; and (5) some form of state accreditation and/or setting of educational standards should be afforded these schools. (KM)

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THE IMPACT OF PRIVATE EDUCATION ON THE RURAL SOUTH

by

James M. Palmer

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THE SOUTH AND THE AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOL MOVEMENT

Introduction

While private schools have had a long and cherished tradition in the United States, the South, since Reconstruction, has had few elementary and secondary private schools. Since 1952, however, the South has experienced remarkable growth in private schools. These new schools, because of their relationship to the desegregation of the public schools, have been derisively dubbed "Segregation Academies." This phenomenon is quite extensive, and the evidence seems to indicate that it may well be continuing.

Some question the right of such schools to exist. However, the Committee for the White House Conference on Education (1956) stated: "It is a matter of settled constitutional law in the United States that it is the right and privilege of parents to send their children to such schools. It is a necessary corollary that private groups, religious or other, have a right to establish schools of their own" [p. 20]. A precedent, a value, and a constitutional guarantee thus legitimize this recent development in private schools. Yet, many questions are still being raised relative to the "Segregation Academies."

A Major Question

A question of sociological significance which serves as the focus of this paper is, "What impact have these schools had upon the rural South?" This concern has been expressed by many. Alarm has been voiced over the possible destruction of the public schools. Some see the further lowering of the educational level of white southerners. Others foretell economic disaster for the region in its attempt to support both public and private systems. Still others view them as the "fortresses of racial bigotry" which will prolong segregation and racial tension. And yet, a few writers with a more optimistic view see them as providing a choice and as a way to improve the quality of education.

Despite the rather prolific writings in newspapers, weekly magazines, and market and professional journals in the field of education, as well as other sources relative to the recently established private schools, there appears to be a dearth of actual systematic, objective research on any

aspect of the private schools. Since no state has a mandatory reporting system for private schools ("News," 1970: p. 70), their very existence lacks accurate documentation—to say nothing about such things as enrollments, attendance, standards, nature of housing and equipment, credentials of teachers, quality of education, accreditation, or any other related factor. A number of authors have noted that serious study is needed (Champagne, 1973: p. 58; L. McMillin, 1972: p. 15; Mondale, 1970: p. 1835; Terjen, 1972: p. 50; Wiles, 1972b: p. 438; Yeates, 1970: p. 83).

Private Schools in the Literature

The growth of Segregation Academies has been extensively described by Kilpatrick, 1970; Cleghorn, 1970; Tornquist, 1971; Terjen, 1972; Walden and Cleveland, 1971; and Yeates, 1970; and in "Instant Schools," 1970. These studies are basically journalistic in style and tend to be impressionistic.

Several serious research efforts have been attempted on the Segregation Academy movement, but they are rather narrow in focus and do not deal with the impact the movement has had upon the rural South. The early study by Green and Gauerke (1959), a projective rather than retrospective study, was _If the Schools are Closed: A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan_.

Three doctoral dissertations have focused upon the subject. Cleveland (1970) wrote on the movement in Alabama. Sansing (1971) described the characteristics of private schools in Mississippi. Wiles (1972a) portrayed the private school movement in Florida. The author's dissertation contains a limited treatment of Mississippi's private schools (Palmer, 1971a; see also Palmer, 1971b).

Only one in-depth analysis was located. Brown and Provizer (1972) utilized the case study approach in their analysis of three private schools in Georgia.

For a fact-finding study of private schools, the reports of the _Hearings before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity_ (Mondale, 1970) provide useful reference material. Part 3D of the report, "Desegregation Under Law," is devoted exclusively to private schools in the South. Nearly all parts of the report contain helpful references; but since the report lacks an index, it is cumbersome to use.

One additional study, which falls in a class by itself, is the rather biased yet informative study by Blumenfeld (1972). It carries the practical title, How to Start Your Own Private School, and Why You Need One.

A number of studies treat the larger private school movement in America. A utilitarian treatment is Erickson's edition of Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools (1969). An historical treatment of private academies in early America is Sizer's The Age of the Academies (1964). Two interpretative studies that analyze the role of independent schools are those by Dandridge (1972) and Ferrer (1956). McGrew (1971) produced a doctoral dissertation treating the private school as an American phenomenon. Perhaps the most extensive and up-to-date treatment is Kraushaar's American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity (1972). Fichter (1958) has provided an excellent treatment of parochial schools.

No studies were located that dealt with the sociological implications of the private school movement either for the nation or for the South. Articles were usually descriptive in nature, either of the schools and their pupils and patrons or else of the phenomenal growth that has occurred. Many articles were available relative to public funding of private schools, some of which will be indicated later. Because of the paucity of data and its lack of focus, the concept "rural South" had to be broadened to refer to the South in general, considering its regional character as rural.

Private Schools in America

To understand the impact of private schools in the rural South, it is necessary to understand something of the role of the larger movement, for the Southern phenomenon is not independent of the whole picture.

Importance of the Role of Private Schools

A number of authors (Brickman, 1972; Killeen, 1970: p. 93; Miller, 1957: p. 4) have commented on the important role that private schools have played in American education from the earliest days of our country. Brickman (1972) recorded that "private educational facilities were available during our colonial period in the form of secondary, evening, and vocational schools..." [p. 82]. Until recently, such schools have had their greatest development in the New England states. However, the movement is spreading, and there are presently private schools in all but two

states, Alaska and Canada (Lovejoy, 1963: p. 4). While only a little more than 13 percent of the nation's school children are enrolled in private schools (Beach, 1958: p. 2), these schools continue to make a significant impact upon American society (L. McMillin, 1972: p. 14).

Conflict over the public or private nature of education also began early. Edwards and Richey (1963) maintain that there was a division among the colonies as to whether education was the function of the state or of the church. The Puritans of New England saw education as the function of the state. Colonists outside of New England generally agreed with the Anglicans that education was the responsibility of the church, and this attitude "kept the state inactive in education in most of the colonies during the whole colonial period" [p. 7].

Kraushaar (1972: p. 13) points out that since the Second World War non-public schools in America have experienced an overall growth that exceeds that of the public schools. From 1899 to 1900, only 8.02 percent of the nation's school children were in non-public schools, while from 1952 to 1954 children attending non-public schools comprised 13.08 percent of the total. The years between, for the most part, showed a rather steady increase in percentage (Beach, 1958: p. 2). This increase occurred despite a decline in Catholic parochial schools (L. McMillin, 1972: p. 15; "Why," 1969: p. 51).

Reasons for the Growth of Private Schools

A number of reasons might be advanced for the growth of non-public schools. First of all, included in the democratic ethic is the right of parents to send their children to private schools. This right was constitutionally settled by the Supreme Court in the Pierce vs. Society of Sisters case in 1925 (Miller, 1957: p. 9). Secondly, many individuals acting within the free enterprise system of the American economy have never been completely convinced that private education is impractical.

A third possible reason is found in the growing affluence of the American public. This factor, along with the achievement syndrome that pervades the middle class, may be creating a class consciousness that demands exclusive schools and "quality education" (Tornquist, 1971: pp. 12, 14).

A fourth reason may be found in the rising disenchantment with the public schools. Silberman (1970) has pointed out that the public schools have failed to effect the American dream through enhancing mobility and that the schools have failed to be relevant even with regard to reform. Many are concerned about the degree of secularism which is developing within the public schools. The concern over such issues as sex education, evolution, and the ban on Bible reading and prayer has raised questions about the adequacy of a "public" education (Henley, 1970: pp. 32-33; "Why," 1969: pp. 50-52). In addition, there are such problems as "racial unrest, overcrowding and the quality of teaching in the public schools" ["Why," 1969: p. 50].

An additional impetus for the growth of private schools is the matter of the integration of the public school systems (Benjamin, 1964: pp. 275-81). Busing for racial balance is highly related to this impetus. And the rapid growth which the South has recently experienced has added to the complexity of the problem.

Types of Private Schools

Before attempting to discuss the impact of private schools on the rural South, it is necessary to determine what kinds of private schools are developing. Efforts to develop an adequate typology of the various kinds of non-public schools in America are fraught with problems. Even the concepts "public" and "private" include much ambiguity. Kraushaar (1972: pp. 8-12) points out that in many instances the private schools can be seen as serving a public function and that, on the basis of a number of criteria, private schools differ from public schools only in a matter of degree.

Private schools can be classified on the basis of a number of dimensions. A two-fold classification based on religion or social class is employed by Fichter (1958: p. 429) in which he distinguishes "parochial" from "private." However, such a classification, while adequate for Fichter's purposes, lacks utility in a more comprehensive study.

Parochial schools, for instance, can be divided into those that exist mainly to educate members of a parish or group of parishes and are largely supported by the constituents and those that exist as mission schools

to serve some particular ethnic or racial group and are supported by the denomination's general budget. The first type exists along side of and as an alternative to public schools. The second type came into being because the public schools did not serve these students.

Private schools (non-parochial schools) likewise can be classified on the basis of their rationale for existence and the clientele they serve. Six basic types can be identified using these criteria.

Schools for special groups are schools that to some degree approximate the "mission parochial school" but lack the strong denominational tie. Usually funded by philanthropic foundations or grants, they exist to help culturally disadvantaged groups, such as the children of the poor, the isolated mountain people, the American Indians, or the Negroes. This type of school was founded largely when access to the public educational system was difficult if not impossible for the groups served. Many of these schools closed as public schools became available. Martha Berry of Georgia, Berea of Kentucky, and Piney Woods of Mississippi are typical of this type of school.

Schools for the handicapped include schools for those who are either physically, mentally, or socially handicapped. Such schools have limited enrollments, based on the needs of the clients. Physical handicaps include deafness, blindness, crippled limbs, and certain debilitating diseases. Schools for the mentally retarded are also classified in this general category. It should be noted that more and more specialized learning classes are being conducted for the above groups within the public sector. Schools for the socially handicapped include detention or reformatory schools or schools for problem children.

College preparatory schools are the schools usually thought to be typical of the concept "private school." Such schools prefer to be called "Independent Schools" [L. McMillin, 1972: p. 14]. Basically, they serve an upper-middle- and upper-class clientele and supposedly provide an advantage for entering the more prestigious institutions of higher learning.

Christian schools differ from the parochial schools in that they are usually not denominationally sponsored, though they may be church connected. The student body of such a school is generally composed of

students from many different denominations. While the Bible is a part of the curriculum, Christian schools do not attempt to indoctrinate the students in any particular creed. They are rather a reaction to secularism in the public schools. Many of the Segregation Academies have the word "Christian" in their names, and many have certain other characteristics similar to these schools (Golden, 1969: p. 697), though they are not a part of this movement ("Why," 1969: pp. 51-52; Henley, 1970: p. 32).

Community schools take many forms but are a basic reaction to the judgment that the public schools are irrelevant and failing to meet the needs of certain groups. They tend to be highly innovative and go by different designations, such as street academies, free schools, and community schools. These schools, for the most part, are of very recent origin. "Harlem Prep" and Chicago's "CAM Academy" are examples (Silberman, 1970: pp. 95-112; Kraushaar, 1972: p. 16).

Segregation Academies are schools that were begun primarily as a result of the desegregation of the public schools. They represent, among other things, an attempt to preserve the segregation of the races. Terjen (1972: p. 50) distinguishes between those that are segregated by intent and those that may be segregated but which have an integration policy. The use of the term "Segregation Academy" in this paper should not be construed as derisive; it is employed to denote those schools which were begun because of the dissatisfaction with the public schools which grew out of desegregation. It is the segregation academy which now looms largest on the southern social horizon and which has the greatest implication for this region.

PRIVATE EDUCATION IN THE RURAL SOUTH PRIOR TO 1954

The Pre-Civil War South

The colonial South was disposed to see education as a private matter. Edwards and Richey (1963) wrote: "In a social order in which it was accepted as a principle that education was a personal matter and that competent parents would see to it that their children were trained according to their proper stations in society, education at private expense and privately controlled was bound to loom large" [p. 140]. The development of endowed,

charity and denominational schools partly cared for the poor (Edwards and Richey, 1963: p. 137). In time, however, education for the poor became a matter for public support and legislation.

With the advent of statehood, most southern legislatures did nothing about public education; therefore, education was mainly private. Public education, where it existed, was usually limited to elementary schooling. Even many elementary schools were private (Weathersby, 1921: p. 23). Weathersby wrote, "Legislation relative to secondary education in Mississippi from 1817 to 1860 dealt chiefly with the incorporation of private academies and similar institutions of learning" [p. 23]. Schools were located in the cities and formal education for the rural youth was nonexistent unless they could arrange transportation or could afford to board near the school.

There was no education for Negroes in the South prior to the Civil War, and relatively little public education for whites. State laws forbade the education of Negroes in nearly all of the southern states. Some educating was done, however, by slave holders, inasmuch as it proved helpful to have slaves who could read and cipher. This education was, of course, "private," and much of it was of a vocational nature.

The public education systems established prior to the Civil War for whites became impoverished by that war, and many ceased to exist. Their resurrection was largely due to the advent of the Freedmen's schools, which served as a challenge to the white community (Bullock, 1967: p. 37; Wilson, 1947: p. 38).

The Advent of the Freedmen's Schools

At the close of the Civil War, Negroes were for the most part illiterate. The Freedmen's Bureau, created by Congress, began the sponsorship of private schools for Negroes in the South. Lincoln also launched a program entitled "The Foundation of Education." These programs enlisted philanthropic and religious support for the founding of schools to educate the Negro (Bullock, 1967: p. 19). The Freedmen's schools were short lived, however, as the development of the "Black Codes" and later the overthrow of the reconstruction governments brought an end to most of them (Bullock, 1967: p. 39).

The Advent of Special Schools

Smith (1950: p. xi) contends that as late as 1910 "there were in the South few enough champions of public education for whites and fewer still who believed Negroes could or should be educated." Into this setting came those who would save the children of the rural South. Private philanthropy and religious organizations began to establish new schools to meet the need of the rural poor, the mountain people, the Negroes, the American Indians, and other specific groups for whom no public schools were available. These schools took the form either of mission schools, with a strong emphasis on evangelism, or of the type of school earlier referred to as "schools for special groups" (see p. 6). Some of the dying Freedmen's schools were given new life.

Such efforts could hardly meet the needs of so widely dispersed an area and of groups with such differing needs. They were stop-gap measures. In time the developing public school system caused many of these schools to be phased out (Kraushaar, 1972: p. 39). Some, however, remain to the present, ennobled both by their tradition and by their graduates of distinction.

The Diminishing Role of Private Education in the South

It is apparent from the foregoing discussion, that elementary and secondary private education had an impact, serving both as the forerunner to and as the re-stimulation of public schools in the South. And yet, with the advent of public schools and the development of a comprehensive public system, private schools gave way to public education. That private education which did survive the economic depression caused by the Civil War was further debilitated by the great depression of the 1930s. The South of 1954 knew but little of "elitist" private education despite the heritage of the South and its history of private schools.

Outside of Virginia, few college preparatory schools existed in the South during the first one-half of the twentieth century. Even today the number is small (Bunting, 1969: p. 1). Only 40 of the 1,000 schools listed in Bunting's prep-school guide are located in the South. Nearly one-half of these schools are located in Virginia or Florida. The third highest group is in Texas.

Crow and Crow (1960: pp. 16-17) attribute the emergence of the public schools to the democratic ideals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Another factor that may have minimized the development of private schools in the South was that neither the Baptists nor the Methodists, the two groups which dominate the religious scene in the South, ever had a strong commitment to elementary and secondary parochial schools. These groups were concerned mainly with evangelism rather than education. While Baptists operated a number of "Mountain Academies," a type of mission school for isolated groups, these largely gave way with the development of a strong public school system (Kraushaar, 1972: p. 39). Only in Louisiana did the pattern vary significantly. The strength of the Catholic Church in that state gave rise to a number of parochial schools.

The dual nature of the public schools in the South, with its segregated systems, may well have served as a deterrent to the development of a modern private school movement. With blacks, who comprised the largest proportion of the lower class in the South, segregated in all black schools, the white schools were relatively free to focus on college preparatory courses with little interest devoted to vocational education. While rural schools and schools in the major cities that served lower-class whites may have been more vocationally oriented, the major thrust of most white schools was the college preparatory curriculum. The "Neighborhood School" concept added to the "elitist" nature of the middle-class suburban schools. Newsweek quotes one school official as saying, "We've [the whites] had a private school system all along but the state supported it [referring to the white public schools]. Now we have to find private support for it" ["Instant," 1970: p. 59]. The cost of maintaining a dual school system may also have contributed to the lack of an emerging independent private school system.

PRIVATE EDUCATION AS A "NEVER" STRATEGY

No date in the history of any region is more significant for education than is 1954 for the South. For the Brown decision of the Supreme Court that year sounded the death knell for the dual school system and gave impetus to a whole new social phenomenon in the area of private schools. It is helpful to view this date as the closing of one era and the beginning of another.

In anticipation of the Brown decision, John Bell Williams, U.S. Senator from Mississippi, was quoted in the Jackson Daily News as saying, "The South will never submit to integration" [April 5, 1954: p. 1]. Reacting both to the Supreme Court decision and to the 1957 Civil Rights Act, six southern states immediately adopted plans for state-wide private school systems: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia (Green and Gauerke, 1959: p. 4). Other states provided grants and loans to children in private schools. With this legitimization, private schools began to blossom over the South (Champagne, 1973: p. 60). In 1964 alone, the state of Mississippi granted 23 charters to private educational foundations (Palmer, 1971a: p. 93).

William J. Simmons, administrator of the Citizens' Councils of America, in a commencement address to the combined senior classes of four council schools, raised the question, "What caused all this [the growth of private schools in the South] to happen?" He answered it by saying, "It was the massive integration of the public schools, an act that must surely rank in the annals of history at the top of mankind's most lunatic aberrations" [1972: p. 22]. Most observers of this southern phenomenon agree that this growth resulted from school integration (Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 235). "Council Schools," "Independent Schools," "Private Schools," "Alternative Schools," "Segregation Academies," "Rebel Yell Academies," and "Christian Academies" were new names coined at this time. They entered the vocabulary of southerners in general, of journalists covering the southern scene, of educators, and of politicians (Golden, 1969: p. 697; Simmons, 1972: p. 21; Terjen, 1972: p. 50; Tornquist, 1971: p. 12; Wiles, 1972b: p. 534). New concepts were also quickly adopted in the South, including the political concepts of "government aid to private schools," "educational vouchers," and "tax exemption for private schools" (Brickman, 1972; Champagne, 1973).

The Rise of Segregation Academies

In the 1953-54 school year, Beach and Will (1958: p. 3) reported a total of 74,962 pupils in private schools of all types in 11 southern states. This comprised only 1.7 percent of the total number of children in all types of private schools in the nation and only .2 percent of all

the school children in the nation. In comparison with the total number of school children in the 11 southern states, it represented only .9 percent. By 1971, children in private schools in the South constituted anywhere from 6 percent overall to as high as 12 percent for some states ("White," 1971: p. 75; Palmer, 1971: pp. 75-76). It was impossible to obtain accurate enrollment figures or to know how many schools were operating at any one time. The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta has attempted to keep up with the growth of these schools (Terjen, 1971). The 1972 enrollment was estimated to be 535,000 for segregated schools, up 35,000 (Terjen, 1972: p. 50). In spite of the rapid growth of private schools in the South, only 6.2 percent of its children are in private schools of all types, in comparison with the national average of 10.3 percent (Terjen, 1972: p. 51).

Characteristics and Problems of Segregation Academies

One feature more than any other characterized the new southern schools: they were "all white." In speaking of Alabama's new private schools, Walden and Cleveland (1971) stated, "Any attempt to describe the specific characteristics of such schools as a group falls short of absolute inclusiveness" [p. 235]. Other writers have noted this same wide diversity in almost any criterion used (Golden, 1969: p. 697; Terjen, 1972: p. 56; Wiles, 1972b: p. 537).

Kraushaar (1972: p. 201) says that financial plight is well-nigh universal among all types of private schools. The interesting fact about the Segregation Academies is that they were organized at a period of time when other private and parochial schools were facing rather severe financial difficulties (Blome, 1971: p. 53; Brickman, 1972: p. 83; Bunting, 1969: p. iii; "Can," 1972: p. 45; Yeates, 1970: p. 83). Most Segregation Academies seem to be operating on a shoestring, "financed from the pockets of parents who are motivated by an opposition to racially mixed classrooms" ["White," 1971: p. 75].

A number of schools were hurt financially when, early in 1970, the Internal Revenue Service withdrew their tax exemption; some closed outright (Champagne, 1973: p. 63). The schools which were hardest hit were those serving a rather large segment of working-class clientele, who could hardly afford the tuition payments. Schools with middle-class clientele had less difficulty (Champagne, 1973: p. 63; Tornquist, 1971: p. 14).

At present, tuitions vary considerably, with some academies charging as little as $210 while others charge $850. The average tuition appears to be approximately $350 per year (Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 238). Most academies appear to have a graduated scale for two or more children from the same family.

Facilities, like finances, vary considerably. Some schools are housed in modern attractive buildings (American Plywood, 1970), while others are housed in storefronts, church buildings, homes, or Quonset huts (Golden, 1969: p. 697; Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 238). Buildings have often been erected or renovated by voluntary labor. Sometimes the parents of the children enrolling in the school have been expected to donate time and/or money toward the construction of buildings (Brown and Provizer, 1972: p. 72).

Highly related to finances and facilities has been the quality of education afforded. While no direct correlation has ever been demonstrated between the two variables and quality education, most states have minimum standards for both finances and facilities. Segregation Academies have varied greatly both in their concern over quality education and in their actual output ("Colleges," 1970: p. 10; Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 238). No study was available that measured the latter. Green and Gauerke (1959: pp. 14-15) have questioned whether these hastily organized schools can hope to meet the standards of the public schools when previous private schools have failed to do so. Tornquist (1971: p. 14) found that North Carolina, the one state that attempts to regulate non-public schools, had much lower standards for these than for the public schools. Efforts on the part of other southern states to set up standards have been defeated (Terjen, 1972: p. 57). Walden and Cleveland (1971) applied 37 quantitative criteria used by accrediting agencies to the Segregation Academies of Alabama and found a large percentage "woefully lacking" while some "measure up favorably" [p. 238].

Segregation Academies, in the main, are not recognized or accredited by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges, the regional accrediting agency. However, neither are the South's better private schools because the agency tends to use the same standards for both public and private schools, even when they may not be applicable to the latter (Terjen,

1972: p. 57). This drawback may not be serious for the student, inasmuch as many colleges accept students on the basis of college entrance exams rather than on their secondary school's accreditation (Blumenfeld, 1972: p. 217). The important question is whether the student receives an education in the new private schools which is adequate to equip him to pass the entrance exams. Further, schools outside the South may look with disfavor on Segregation Academy graduates.

The Rise of Private School Associations

Because the newly created private schools are afraid of intervention, they have been fairly slow about joining associations. In 1971, for example, only 17 percent of Mississippi's private schools had affiliated with the Mississippi Private School Association. Thus, many lack those cooperative facilities and services that are available to public schools through the departments of education of the various states and through the teachers' and administrators' associations (Palmer, 1971b: p. 12).

A number of associations of private schools were already in existence when this recent southern phenomenon occurred, but few of the new schools affiliated with them. Such organizations were the Council for American Private Education (CAPE), composed of nine national private and parochial boards or associations (L. McMillin, 1972: p. 15); the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS)(Lovejoy, 1963: p. 4); and the National Association of Christian Schools (NACS) (Henley, 1970: p. 32). The southern parochial and independent schools in existence prior to desegregation were often affiliated with these national associations. All of these associations have nondiscriminatory policies for admission of students.

The Segregation Academies, wishing to avoid integration but desirous of the services such associations can provide, were forced to create their own. State associations began to form, often in conjunction with and sponsored by the Citizens' Council (N. McMillen, 1971: p. 303). Terjen (1972: p. 54) identified state associations in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. Schools in states that have no state organization became affiliated with associations in adjacent states. These state associations are affiliated with the Southern Independent School Association, which reports 395 affiliated schools and 181,000 pupils (Terjen,

1972: p. 43). This number appears to include less than one-half of the Segregation Academies and considerably less than one-half of the estimated enrollments. In Blumenfeld's (1972: pp. 355-61) list of "Independent School and Accrediting Associations," which provides personnel and addresses, 14 of the 55 listings have addresses in southern states.

Segregation in Southern Parochial and Independent Schools

While the South did not have a large number of either parochial or independent, college-preparatory schools, those that did exist were faced with applications from students fleeing integrated public schools. Muse (1961), in writing about Virginia's resistance to desegregation, stated that "a few children whose parents could afford the expense were placed in regular private schools, but the few dozen vacancies in the regular private schools of Virginia were quickly filled" [p. 77]. He added that some students were sent to private schools in other states, some of which were integrated (Muse, 1961: p. 77). As was mentioned earlier (see p. 14), the parochial and independent schools in the South which were affiliated with national associations had nondiscriminatory policies. This did not mean, necessarily, that they were integrated. The culture of the region, as well as the economic class structure, had rendered many of them all white.

During the period when private schools were springing up overnight in the South, the Catholic schools were actually experiencing a decline in enrollment. From 1961-62 to 1970-71, there was a 5.6 percent decline in Catholic schools in the South (Terjen, 1972: p. 51). However, this decline was lower than the national decline of 17 percent. The difference may well have been owing to "white flight." This occurred despite efforts to stem the tide.

The Catholic church took a strong stand against its schools becoming Segregation Academies. A mimeographed position paper entitled "Enrollment Policies for 1970-1971 School Year," published by the Diocesan School Board of the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson and dated February 21, 1970, prohibited the "construction or procuring of new or additional facilities to accomodate transferees from the public school system...."

Other church groups also took a stand against segregated schools. The General Conference of the United Methodist Church, while not operating

parochial schools, went on record as opposing the use of churches to house segregated schools. The Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi also took similar action, asking that the congregations not use church property or buildings to house segregated schools ("Oppose," 1970: p. 4).

IMPACT OF THE NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS ON THE RURAL SOUTH

The Segregation Academies not only constituted a phenomenon that was virtually unknown in the South, they also constituted a new type of private school (Mondale, 1970: p. 1195). In the beginning, the Segregation Academies were virtually classless. They had no admissions standards but race; they were dedicated to the preservation of the segregation of the races; and they manifested a particularized "Christian" and "American" ethic. Their emergence and their continuation could not but have some effect upon the South. It is now rather apparent, even to the casual observer, that they will neither destroy the public school system nor supplant it in educating the majority of southern whites.

Private Schools and Racial Tension

Segregation Academies arose out of the desegregation of the public schools. Simmons, president of the Council School Foundation and administrator of the Citizens' Councils of America, asserts (1972: p. 22) that to claim otherwise is hypocrisy. These schools may be seen as playing a dual role—acting as a safety valve to prevent possible racial violence and, at the same time, prolonging, if not heightening, racial tensions.

Champagne (1973: p. 63) and Muse (1961: p. 114) agree with the author that the Segregation Academy movement acted to dissipate hostilities and thus prevent violence. Palmer (1971a) stated that

> the very people who would be expected to react violently to Negroes entering the white schools were busy repairing, remodeling and painting quarters for a private school. Such actions proudly announced their intentions to "preserve the Southern way of life" and their willingness to make a sacrifice to "integrity." Retreat rather than attack became defined as the more acceptable form of social action in the situation. Withdrawal, "white flight," may have served to prevent white "fight" as hostilities were sublimated. Noteworthy is the fact that private schools developed in greater proportion in those sections of the state [Mississippi] with a higher percent Negro population where desegregation had been considered to be more likely to result in conflict [p. 76].

The alternative role of prolonging racial tension can be readily seen in the close association of the Citizens' Councils of America and the Southern Independent School Association. An example of this association may be noted in a special publication entitled The Citizens' Councils and Private Education (1966). This publication contains eight selected articles that appeared from 1964 to 1966 in The Citizen, official organ of the Citizens' Councils. N. McMillen (1971) stated that "as the nation's largest organization dedicated exclusively to segregation, it [The Citizens' Councils] was in a position to provide leadership for whites who could not or would not accept biracial schools" [p. 303]. Benjamin (1964) wrote, "The 1954 decision [of the Supreme Court] will promote private education in the South and continue to foster racial and social segregation by means of separate schools" [p. 280]. Green and Gauerke (1959), anticipating the advent of Segregation Academies, wrote that "education may well become a devisive element in our society instead of the unifying element it has been in the past" [p. 15]. Winfred Green, in a testimony before the Mondale Committee, made a similar claim (Mondale, 1970: p. 1198).

Walden and Cleveland (1971) pointed out the possible "debilitating psychological and sociological consequences, both to individuals and to local communities of having thousands of young people isolated from the facts of racial heterogeneity and democracy." An example of the type of philosophy one might expect children in Segregation Academies to receive can be found in Evans (1973), "Private Schools and Political Freedom, An Address to the Citizens' Councils of America." Racist indoctrination was also a charge made before the Mondale Committee (Mondale, 1970: p. 1943). These effects would be especially strong in rural areas and small towns, where there is a majority of blacks and where most whites have fled the public schools.

Disruption of the Public Schools

Loss of Pupils

Since the pupils of the newly created academies were former students of the public schools, the creation of the academies could not help but cause some disruption to the public system. Terjen (1972: p. 55) found that seven of the southern states showed a decrease in public school

enrollment from 1970 to 1971. Palmer (1971a: p. 87) found that a significant relationship existed between the decline in public school enrollment and the emergence of private schools in the district. The growth of Virginia's private school system began when the public schools were closed in an effort to forestall integration. The private schools were developed to serve the same population of whites that were formerly the pupils of the public schools (Muse, 1961: p. 76). However, the loss of pupils, per se, was probably not the greatest disruption to schools, which in many instances were already overcrowded.

Loss of Public School Faculty

A loss of teachers and administrators accompanied the loss of pupils (Mondale, 1970: pp. 1017-18). In many states, particularly in Mississippi, the faculties were integrated a full year before the massive integration of the pupils, and many of the white "cross-over" teachers resigned rather than teach all black classes or even biracial classes. Palmer (1971b: p. 11) found a significant relationship between resignation of "cross-over" teachers and the emergence of private schools. These teachers, and in some cases administrators, became the nucleus around which the new schools were organized and readied for the day when massive integration would occur.

Financial Costs to Public Schools

A third area of disruption occurred in the area of finances (Mondale, 1970: p. 1828). State and Federal funds are usually appropriated to the school districts on the basis of average daily attendance. When students drop out, the attendance drops; and funds are reduced automatically. Appropriations for funds for the new year may then be inadequate, particularly if some students return to the public schools (Hannah, 1967: p. 77; Mondale, 1970: p. 1984; Terjen, 1972: p. 55; "White," 1971: p. 76; "Why," 1969: p. 50; Yeates, 1970: p. 85).

The loss of public interest in the public schools, with the attendant loss of financial support, was one of the greatest financial costs. Bond issues, usually supported by the white power structure, often failed because the interest of many white leaders was transferred to the private schools (Golden, 1969: p. 697; Mondale, 1970: p. 1976; Palmer, 1971a: p. 91). Both diminution and conflict of interest have been observed in

those instances where white leaders retained their positions on the school boards or as administrators and teachers in the public system but had their children in private schools and at times also served on the private school boards (Brown and Provizer, 1972: pp. 192-95; Terjen, 1972: pp. 55-56; Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 239).

Another area of financial loss to the public schools is shrouded in a serious moral question. So frantic were the white leaders of many communities and so determined were they to preserve racial segregation that questions of ethical behavior and sanctity of property rights were sometimes ignored or rationalized on the basis of the loss of "white rights." Allegations of fraud, theft, and irresponsibility have been made in almost every state (Terjen, 1972: pp. 55-56). Champagne (1973: p. 62) reports that in one area all the desks in a public school were "donated" to a private school by the school board. The board also furnished books for the private school's library, as well as other items. Brown and Provizer (1972: pp. 63, 65) claim that a public school building was purchased at give away prices to be used as a private school. They assert, too, that the building contained equipment purchased with Title I funds as well as library books. Tornquist (1971: p. 12) reports a similar purchase of school property. Instances were reported to the Mondale Committee of cases where teachers who left the public schools to teach in private schools were kept on salary in the public system (Mondale, 1970: pp. 999, 1147, 1786-87, 1853, 1939, 1940, 1968, 1972).

Not only did local school boards and officials render aid to the newly created schools, the states and the Federal Government did likewise. As was mentioned earlier (see p. 11), six states attempted to set up private school systems. Mississippi, and as many as seven other states, passed legislation to provide tuition grants for students to attend private schools (Hannah, 1967: p. 72). Free, state-owned textbooks were provided the segregated schools ("News," 1970: p. 70; "Mississippi," 1970: p. 3). Transportation on public buses and state and local property tax exemptions were other forms of state aid ("News," 1970: p. 70).

Federal aid took two forms. First, funds from programs under the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as well as other programs, were passed on to the new private schools ("Support," 1972: p. 36). The second form of Federal aid

was through the use of tax credits for donations to private schools incorporated as nonprofit organizations. Both of these sources of aid were closed up rather early, but not until after a furor was raised both by civil rights groups and witnesses before the Mondale Committee (Mondale, 1970: pp. 811, 938, 1195, 1618, 1714, 1729, 1783-87, 1826-28, 1969, 1991-2028, 2239-42, 2253, 2255, 2318-19, 3190).

Lowering of Standards

White flight into private segregated schools tended to drain the public school system of its more affluent and perhaps most highly motivated students (Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 235). In those instances where the public system was left all or nearly all black, no educational advantages were gained by the integration of the public schools (Kraushaar, 1972: p. 92). Also, as Yeates suggested, the loss of students was a hindrance to educational research relative to the "problems of dealing with students of different abilities and varying socioeconomic backgrounds in the same educational setting" [1970: p. 85].

Reduction of Efforts Toward Integration

Yeates (1970) stated that "one of the more striking hazards of the academy movement [was] that it tend[ed] to diminish the commitment to the ideal of universal education" [p. 85]. It has lessened the concern for equal educational opportunities for all. It, of course, has frustrated school officials and made their task more difficult (Terjen, 1972: p. 55). The remaining few whites in some systems could hardly be distributed among the increasing number of all-black schools without causing the few whites to flee also. In Mississippi, the one remaining state without a compulsory school attendance law, many whites who could not afford the private schools simply kept their children out of school. Private schools, then, have become not only an act of resistance to desegregation for those enrolled, but they have acted to retard desegregation in the whole educational system.

Impact of Private Schools on Other Community Institutions

In almost every community there were whites who cooperated with the blacks in school desegregation (Glenn, 1970: p. 420). Thus, whites were often set against whites. Walden and Cleveland (1971) noted that "citizens

are being polarized into two distinct groups: those who continue to support the public schools and those who promote and support the private academies" [p. 238]. N. McMillen (1971) also noted this tendency to polarize and said, "Civic organizations formed to support public schools were identified as 'pro-integrationist,' no matter how carefully they avoided the issue" [pp. 288-89]. Yeates (1970: p. 85) noted the developing allegience to "our school" and "their school" in communities with private academies. In order to effect the movement, to insure adequate enrollment, to recruit teachers, and to enlist support, social pressures and outright harassment were reported as having been employed in some communities (Brown and Provizer, 1972: pp. 68, 72; Champagne, 1973: p. 62).

Division also occurred among the children. Blumenfeld (1972), an advocate of private schools, made a rather insightful observation relative to division:

> In addition, I wondered to what extent the private school would begin to add to the social status of those who sent their children there. One might suffer a certain loss of esteem in one's neighbor's eyes if one was not concerned enough with the safety and education of one's child to send him to a private school. This psychology might easily take hold among the adults. As for the children, those still in the public schools might begin to wonder if their parents loved them less than the parents of those who were sent to private schools. All of these interesting psychological and social factors would come into play in the next few years [p. 226].

That such a division was taking place is documented in Wiles's study (1972b) where he reported that "isolation of the children" is the disadvantage reported third most often by parents with children in private schools. He wrote, "Parents reported that their children had a very limited circle of friends due to the small enrollment of such schools, were cut off from neighborhood children and were attending school with a population of children 'too homogeneous' for their liking" [pp. 536-37].

The Church

The polarization of the community did not stop at the doors of local congregations nor were the religious groups in the community unanimous in their attitudes about the Segregation Academies. Congregations often became polarized by private school advocates pressuring for all the other members of the congregation to support the newly created private schools.

The fact that these schools were considered to be "Christian" and that the Bible was used to justify their existence made the position of those church members who remained committed to public schools extremely difficult. Pastors who took a stand against the use of the congregation's property for a segregated school were often dismissed outright by the congregation or suffered such personal harassment that they had to move ("Oppose," 1970: p. 4). When denominational bodies and church officials spoke out against such use of church property, they were at times ignored; sometimes the congregations withdrew from the denomination. The divisive spirit engendered over the racial question, in all probability, has added considerably to the other issues that aided in bringing about the denominational schisms that have occurred in the South in recent years. Some local churches, following the strong integration policies of their denomination, were strong backers of the public schools. Other churches, those which were more independent of the denominational structure or whose denominations took a rather weak stand on the issue, became strong contenders for private schools. Many church buildings were the homes of the new schools, some temporarily, others permanently (Brown and Provizer, 1972: p. 60). The author identified 32 Segregation Academies in Mississippi which were in some way connected with Baptist churches of various denominational affiliations. Most met in Baptist church buildings. In some cases, the pastor of the church was headmaster of the school (data gathered for the author's Ph.D. dissertation but never used or published). In the Bible-belt, rural South, division in the churches is often symptomatic of division within the community.

The Class Structure

Class differences, where they existed, have tended to be minimized in the South, especially in the small rural community or town. The public "white" school served the children of all classes. Rarely did the son of the "wealthy" go off to a "private" school. As was pointed out earlier (see p. 9), there were only a few college preparatory schools for the elite in the modern South. However, the appearance of the Segregation Academies seems to be changing this aspect of the southern scene more than any one other thing.

Many Segregation Academies conceived and launched in haste closed just as hastily. Those established in areas where a sufficient number of families of affluence were present have survived and are doing nicely (see p. 12). Tornquist (1971) identified two types of Segregation Academies: "rebel yell academies for working whites and elitist independent schools for well-to-do" [p. 12]. She added, "But in the long run private schools simply cost too much for the ordinary factory worker and farmer." Green and Gauerke (1959: p. 8) observed that independent schools in America had "served by and large, upper middle-class populations." Blumenfeld (1972) asserted that the reason the middle class was strongly supporting the new private schools was that "the middle-income group wanted, and could afford, better college preparatory education than the public schools were providing" [p. 224].

Blumenfeld also identified as one reason why some whites kept their children in public schools the fact that "some people can't afford the private school and don't want to accept financial assistance" [p. 225]. Champagne (1973) noted that "the parents of children in the public school did not appear to be less racist, only poorer, than parents of children in the Academy" [p. 64]. Brown and Provizer (1972) claimed that the power structure of one southern town "which is completely behind the 1,500 student Indianola Academy, has told lower income whites to go ahead and send their children to the public schools" [p. 71]. The writers added, "Indianola Academy will probably survive as a school for the elite...." A Newsweek reporter asserted ("Instant," 1970) that "money often determined who attended Mississippi's new private schools" [p. 59]. The picture appeared to be no different in Georgia. Champagne (1973), in speaking of Sumter County, Georgia, stated: "The result of this high tuition was that generally only the wealthier families could send their children to the Academy. This was viewed as good by many parents since 'only better children can attend'" [p. 63].

Mayor J. W. Fore, of Hollandale, Mississippi, summed up the new class division in an interview with a writer for the Race Relations Reporter ("Majority," 1970): "But how can you run a town where the wealthy people have their children in private schools and the working people have to move?" [p. 2].

The Economy

Terjen (1972) wrote that "the South cannot now, any more than it was able to in the past, bear the burden of supporting two racially separate educational systems, the public system which in many areas is becoming increasingly black and the academy system which is exclusively white" [p. 58]. This view is shared by others (Mondale, 1970: p. 1944; Walden and Cleveland, 1971: p. 238). The new dual system is more costly than the old, for the exodus of whites did not substantially reduce the expenditures for education. Locally, taxes remained the same. On the other hand, the cost of construction and maintenance of new schools plus tuition was an additional burden—one that was too costly for the working-class man, as was pointed out earlier.

Stories come from almost every southern state of businessmen who claim that business has dropped off, that collections are in arrears, and that the whole economy is being drained ("Financial," 1970: pp. 2-3; Mondale, 1970: pp. 1947-50; "White," 1971: p. 76). Even tax revenues appear to be suffering (Mondale, 1970: p. 1947-48). Brown and Provizer (1972) state that "reports of heavy borrowing, wives taking outside jobs for the first time and mortgaging cars and homes are common" [p. 62]. Small communities with Segregation Academies may also be affected economically by their failure to attract new industries (Brown and Provizer, 1972: p. 62). The greatest economic impact of the new private schools is probably on the smaller communities (Yeates, 1970: p. 84).

Private Schools and Government Aid

The South has long been the stronghold of Protestantism in the United States and as such has been the most vocal region for the separation of church and state. Any effort to put tax monies into parochial schools immediately raised a hue and cry from southern congressmen, representatives, legislators, preachers, educators, and the man on the street.

The South, with few independent schools and only slightly more parochial schools, had never really had to face the mounting cost of private education. With the advent of the Segregation Academies this began to change. Rationalizations could be developed for state aid to private schools even though they were church sponsored. Local public buildings,

equipment, and books could be taken without compunction. And tax exemption, both for properties and the gifts made by donors, was suddenly the "American way" and within "our rights." Southern lawmakers began joining with northern congressmen and representatives to draft bills that would provide Federal aid to non-public schools ("Coming," 1969: p. 52; Rarick, 1973: pp. 23-24; "Tax," 1970: p. 53). Arguments for aid to non-public schools were based on concepts such as the debt the nation owes to non-public schools, the tax burden that would have to be added if they were closed, the right of Americans to send their children to private schools, and the child benefit theory (Brickman, 1972: pp. 82-83; Doerr, 1973: pp. 16-19). So far the Supreme Court has overturned all legislation that granted Federal or state aid to schools that were segregated. On the other hand, some segregationists rejected the idea of Federal funds, realizing full well that Federal funds were instrumental in achieving the first integration in public schools. They feared the same for their academies ("White," 1971: p. 76).

Private Schools and Politics

Private school leadership and supporters may influence local and state governmental decisions relative to public education and their own interests in undue proportion to their size and importance (Yeates, 1970: p. 84). The white power structure that controls the southern community is sometimes the same structure that supports the private schools. These men and women are also often a part of the state organizations that make up southern politics. The amount of time that southern legislatures and southern congressmen and representatives have spent attempting to bring their influence and power to the aid of the Segregation Academies attests to this undue power. If the future political leaders of the South are graduates of the Segregation Academies, and they likely will be, then the "southern way of life" will be a point of contention for a long time and so will be the slogan, "The South will rise again!"

THE FUTURE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH

The full impact of private schools on the rural South can not yet be told, for their impact is still being made. Currents of change have been

set into motion that are restructuring the social milieu of the South. What the future of the Segregation Academies and their impact will be is largely a matter of speculation. Some trends may be noted, however.

Private Schools as a New Sociocultural Phenomenon

A fad is distinguished from social change mainly by the latter's durability. Many phenomena appear and in a relatively short time disappear, leaving no discernable mark upon the social scene. Many critics have ventured that hurridly created private schools would prove to be a fad. The success of desegregation, the restoration of "quality education" in the public schools, and the high cost of private education have been pointed to as lethal factors in a private education system spawned by desegregation of the public schools. Nearly ten years have passed since the emergence of the first Segregation Academies and five years since their rapid proliferation began. Yet they appear to be growing in enrollments and financial stability. To be sure, a number have closed as speedily as they opened; possibly many others will yet close. But a large number have survived the "test period" and appear to be succeeding. They are indeed constituting "a whole new educational experience" for the South (Blumenfeld, 1972: p. 155). L. McMillin (1972), while not speaking primarily of Segregation Academies, wrote that "far from destroying public schools, the new private schools may help provide new patterns of departure for publicly financed schools in the years ahead" [p. 16]. Their continuance has been greatly aided by the development of state and regional associations. These associations will provide accreditation, supportive services, communications, and standardization.

These schools have become a part of the southern scene. They are becoming fully integrated with the economic, political, and religious institutions of the community. They are even becoming integrated with the public educational institution. More and more cooperation and interaction is occurring between public and private educational systems. Institutionalization of private schools is occurring, and with this process comes the tendency to persist.

Private Schools and Government Regulation

A certain amount of state regulation of non-public schools has always

been more or less accepted. Beach (1958: p. 9) lists six ways in which state regulations exist: (1) incorporation; (2) state approval of institutions; (3) compulsory education; (4) public support; (5) tax exemptions; and (6) occupational licensing. Southern states have not universally required incorporation, and only North Carolina has legislation requiring approval. Only Mississippi does not have a compulsory education law. But with the advent of the southern private school movement came a concern on the part of public school officials, as well as Federal agencies, to regulate these schools in some way. The first group was concerned with standards, the second with constitutional evasion.

Lawrence raised the question of regulation in an article titled, "Will Private Schools No Longer be Private?" (1970: p. 80). The question was raised relative to the government's demand that white, private, nonprofit schools declare a nondiscriminatory policy before being granted tax exemption. Lawrence viewed with alarm the possible extension of this policy to parochial schools, fraternal clubs, and other such groups.

The bulk of the arguments seem to appear, however, on the other side of the coin. Tax credits are viewed as government support of segregated education (Champagne, 1973: p. 65). Involvement of local and state governments as well as the Federal Government in programs of aid to private schools may already have destroyed their truly "private" character and thus have made them subject to the Fourteenth Ammendment, which forbids racial discrimination (Hannah, 1967: pp. 157-58; Mondale, 1970: pp. 1615, 1623, 1989, 2239).

Private Schools and the Rising Cost of Education

Survival of the private schools in the South is the same as it is for private schools elsewhere, a matter of economics. This includes the rising cost of education and the financial burden to the parents. It is also inextricably linked to the number of students. Not only must the private schools hold all the students now matriculated, but because of the very nature of education, there must be a constant replenishment of students as seniors graduate. If growth is to be experienced, more parents must send more of their children to private schools.

The parents must pay three types of cost. The first is monetary. Month after month they must make the payments on their children's education

even while sharing in the cost of educating their neighbor's children in the public system. The second is in terms of deprivation; they must do without things that the money spent on private education could have afforded them even as they see their neighbors, whose children are in the public schools, enjoy these luxuries. Thirdly, they must pay whatever social cost may be involved for their lack of support of the public schools. The important question is: Can the cost be justified?

In the face of rising tuition, the private school must demonstrate the superiority of the educational experience it offers or else the parents will no longer be able to justify the costs they are having to bear. In a study of Florida's private schools, over three-fourths of the parents replied that under certain conditions they would consider returning their children to the public schools (Wiles, 1972b: p. 537). The condition most often specified was the improvement of the public school system. It would appear that in the long run fear of racial mixing may not be a sufficient reason for support of the new private schools ("Why," 1969: p. 50).

While some private schools are presently operating with less per-capita expenditures than do the local public schools, it does not mean that private schools can operate cheaper than public schools (Green and Gauerke, 1959: p. 6). As these schools are forced to become competitive in terms of their product and less and less of their support is motivated by racial bigotry, the costs will increase. For, as motivation lessens, salaries for teachers, now lower than those in the public schools, will have to be raised; buildings, now acceptable, will be considered inadequate; and equipment hastily gathered will be deemed make-shift and obsolete and will have to be replaced. As these schools begin to cater to a more upper-middle-class and less to a working-class clientele, the more elaborate must be the facilities. In addition, private tuition can never be equated with public school support in the American economy owing to the fact that the first is always in addition to the second. Rising educational costs demand greater support in both the private and public sectors of education. This demands both increased tuition and increased taxes. Outside of a constitutional ammendment to allow government aid to non-public schools or a voucher system of support for both public and private education, there appears to be no financial relief for private education.

Private Schools as Elitist Academies

Lovejoy (1963) maintains that "one of the main reasons families seek private, prep schools is that as many as 90 odd per cent of private school graduates go on into college, whereas only 40 per cent or less of the public school graduates do" [p. 5]. Green and Gauerke (1959: p. 8) draw the same conclusion. What about the Segregation Academies, do they contain a college-bound student body? Simmons (1972) asserts that "96 per cent of Council School students expect to seek higher education" [p. 17].

It would appear, then, that the Segregation Academy may be no less the product of social class than the exclusive college-preparatory schools of the upper middle class. With the return of the working-class and lower-class children to public schools, the private school is segregated not only racially but on a class basis. Its rationale for racial segregation is greatly weakened; but a new rationale, economically determined, emerges that provides a social base for determining who attends the private schools. In 1971, Tornquist (1971: p. 12) predicted that the South's private school movement would emerge as a middle-class phenomenon. Tornquist (p. 14) also indicated that racial segregation would disappear in time as middle-class blacks began to send their children to private schools. Hillyer Rudisell III, a Segregation Academy superintendent, is quoted as saying, "We won't last long as just white schools. We've got to open the doors wider" ("Why," 1969: p. 50).

The support of private schools in the South, short of government funds, must come from that segment of the population which can best afford to pay tuition to buy what is supposed to be a superior advantage for their children. It must come from those who can pay the price of tuition without having to make noticeable sacrifices in other areas of expenditure. In other words, the support must come from those who have an above average income and a strong social achievement orientation, an elite group made up of the middle-middle and upper-middle socioeconomic classes.

CONCLUSION

A number of findings emerged within the course of this study. Private schools have flourished and appear to have beome a rather permanent part

of southern life. Many that were ill-conceived and hastily founded have closed and others will yet close. While characteristics of the new private schools are almost as varied as the schools themselves, some standardization as well as stability appears to be taking place as private school associations emerge. The schools are rapidly becoming middle-class, college preparatory schools. They will not destroy the public schools, but they have created much interest and support in the South for Federal aid for non-public schools.

The present study reflects only the findings of the literature available to the author. Because of time and funding limitations, it cannot claim to be exhaustive. While other studies may well exist with which the author is not familiar, every effort has been made to make the study as complete and thorough as possible.

One cannot review the literature on private schools in general and their impact on the rural South in particular and not conclude that there is a need for much research in the area. The existence of the schools, their enrollment, and the number that have begun and closed since 1964 need further documentation. The characteristics of the schools also need further study; more information is needed, for example, on faculty qualifications and salaries, teacher-pupil ratios, expenditure per pupil, measurements of pupil achievement, and certification. A number of case studies are needed in the context of their role in the local community. One cannot think of any aspect of education that does not need investigation relative to these new private schools. A better climate towards research may be noted on the part of the private school administrators as the pressure of civil rights groups lessens, as they slip out of the spotlight of national attention, and as they begin to take themselves more seriously as legitimate educational institutions with a commodity to sell and a job to do.

The implications of the findings of this study for educational policy may be summarized briefly. First, private education in the South is a factor that must be reckoned with. It can no longer be ignored nor wishfully dismissed. Second, not bound by tradition as the older preparatory schools would more likely be nor hampered by bureaucracy like the public schools but free to try innovative techniques, these schools may develop

innovative educational models that can find application in the public schools. Third, where the private schools are strong in a local community, the public school may need to place a stronger emphasis on a vocationally oriented curriculum. Fourth, some type of open communication needs to be established between the two systems that will allow the exchange of ideas as well as the interaction of faculty and pupils. Fifth, some form of state accreditation and/or setting of educational standards should be afforded these schools—not to regulate but to bring about a level of performance that guarantees that all children receive an adequate education.

The way people view the private school movement will be determined by their value positions. Those who are strongly influenced by an equalitarian value premise will view them as an impediment to the accomplishment of equality. On the other hand, those who value cultural pluralism will tend to view them as instruments for the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness, yet not necessarily as reinforcing inequality.

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